hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

[P. 15(B)]

relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. For example, the tail was given to his mother and the hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have been no cooperation among members of a family. Title to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

Division of labor between groups seems to have been restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

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AE Early Japan AB3
*175 *648 439

was termed *Kaihō*,[e] a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region." Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishiwa* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

A [426]
AE [431] [296]
E [171]

[e] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

A F
*175 *648 433 554 437

weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people. This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

*175 *648 [669]

The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui." "Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona":* a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

A F [439] [431]

A [622]

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

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This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called "*Shamu Uimamu*" [Japan trade] and the boat used was a "*Uimamu Chippu*" [trade boat]. The sake received was "*uimamu*" sake or idiomatically "*Uimamu tonoto*." The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu*"; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

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[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru). *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

[39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun*.
[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.
[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.
[43] *Tōkai Yawa*.
[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki*: "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim*, swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

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A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [203] [206]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *C48 [570] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

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[village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*. To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho*. While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai*. It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

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the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A [439] ● [431]

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

A F *C98 437 624 *195

The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

A [65]

Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

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[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same ne issue regulations and t became an integral part of the government of nativ In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a nur er of other matters were taken care of (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai.*) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than Uruppu are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[1]

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[1] *Eso Fūzoku Ibun* 2: 1.

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TWO MEN GREETING ONE ANOTHER

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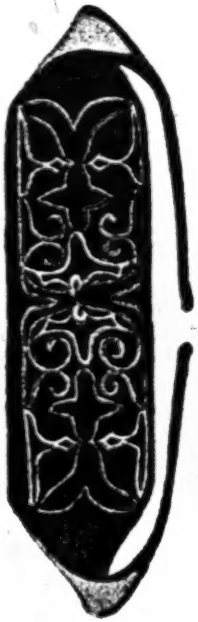
BRIDEGROOM'S TOKEN TO HIS BETROTHED



BRIDE'S TOKEN TO HER BETROTHED

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and propitiated. It must be sent away with much *sake* and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the viands then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Admiral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

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114 It is said that "confession is good for the soul," so I conclude this account with one of my own. In spite of all our boasted spirituality how prone the human mind is to materialism! How strongly ideas of childhood's days have fastened themselves on one's soul! I quite thought I had altogether outgrown gross materialism, yet, when that mascot—that carved kite—was handed to me, for a moment, I felt with regard to it as I used to do respecting the old lucky-stone and penny-with-the-hole-in-it which I used to carry about in my pocket when I was quite a small boy! Well, my old friend wished me prosperity by his gift and I take off my hat to him. He came to see me but two days ago and told me with great joy that he remains entirely well. I am glad to say he is looking happy and in peace.

777 But a quite different kind of charm was given me by a good Ainu friend in my young days. We were about the same age, and he and I were very fast friends and did a good deal of hunting together when we needed food. His present consisted in a small knife in a sheath which he himself had carved very nicely for me. He brought it to me with a letter, a translation of which I now give. He told me that the sheath would bring me good luck.

My Dear Friend,

I present you with this knife-sheath. When henceforth, Sir, you go to hunt among the mountains, gird yourself with it. When you see a hare or duck, kill them with this knife. I now write to you about knife-sheaths. Consider.

[41]

A KNIFE AND SHEATH

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When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession.

That is all, and in it we have another link with 777
and echo from the past.

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special [411
virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would 224]
be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it.

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to 600
a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar 527
that I now write a translation of it. (There is really 774
nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid-

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ef ashi. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted because I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been mentioned in another place, the wife never took the husband's name, but retained her old one. When not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-cikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *heku-cikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so

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593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the hut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
● [431] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

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up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwan kut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lodged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

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to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

As we were passing through a certain village, a woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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the other. They admired one another's beauty and handsome form, helplessly. There they stood, eyeing each other with unbounded amazement and wondrous fascination. Instead of making way for Kutri to pass, as she, being a woman, ought to have done, Yai-mah stood in the middle of the path, rooted to the ground, and gazed at him as though mesmerized. Neither could pass the other. Though they saw one another now for the first time, yet they suddenly began to overflow with love for each other. Nay, as a loving sister, Yai-mah rushed to him and placed her head upon his shoulder. Kutri took her by the hand and they stepped to one side of the path and seated themselves side by side on a log. Long did they linger and lovingly did they sit and talk. Yea, till the evening shadows began to lengthen did they abide there in great contentment of heart. Then, as if waking from a beautiful dream, Kutri quietly gave Yai-mah his small knife and sheath as a pledge, and she, in return, affectionately handed him a piece of her own embroidery. Thus did they pledge one another their troth and then they each returned to their separate homes in joy and gladness.

But alas, Kutri found that there were grave objections to his marriage with Yai-mah. In the joy of his newly found love for her, he had quite forgotten that when a mere baby in arms, his father-chief had betrothed him to the infant daughter of a certain chief who lived in another village. The child's name was Ara-shik. This child had grown up to be as ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox. Moreover, as her name implies, she had but one good eye, for the other was very weak. Kutri had no love for her and had never wished the betrothal to be consummated. Had he not, indeed, many times declared before all that he would never marry her, come what might? But the two chiefs were as stones and would not soften. He

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds 226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu, kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*, 796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every [431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first [574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female 784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds 562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[43]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[48].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i. e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no [796] access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtainable from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
226 [628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made [431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby [431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or [782] hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that [685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer [782] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[49]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156).

(48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop and Ninushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens respectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream.

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i.e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the day time they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family.

(49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory.

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*